INTRODUCTION

The Tolais are a Melanesian people living on the Gazelle Peninsula, East New Britain, Papua New Guinea. They themselves call their language a tinata tuna (the native language), but among linguists the name of the people Tolai is now more usual for the language itself. Therefore the title "Tolai Texts" had to be chosen for practical reasons, though certainly my informants would not like it. Other common names for the language are Gunantuna, Tuna, Raluana and Kuanua. In early German studies of the Tolais it is called "Nordgazellen-Sprache" or "Neupommersche Sprache", because under German rule New Britain was called "Neupommern."

The texts presented here were collected during fieldwork in September and October 1976 in the village of Rakunai, which is 15 km away from Rabaul. Before I came to Papua New Guinea my only experience with the language was from the texts collected by Kleintitschen (1924), Jos. Meier (1909), the grammars by Bley (1912) and Constantini (1907), the Tolai Language course by Franklin, Kerr and Beaumont (1974) and the dictionaries by Otto Meyer (1961) and Lanyon-Orgill (1960). The main purpose of the fieldwork was to collect phonological data and other material for a reference grammar and to check the validity of the old texts and grammars.

I chose the village of Rakunai because this is where most of the old texts which formed the basis of my grammatical
studics so far had been collected. As my time for fieldwork was rather short, I was not able to do any research on dialect geography, but had to rely on former studies and on what people told me. According to Meyer (1961) there are three main dialect groups to be distinguished:

1. Kokopo dialects including Tavui Bush, Vunapope, Takabur, Paparatava, Gunave, Davaun (Raluana),
2. Rabaul and Northcoast dialects including Matupit, Malakuna, Ratavul, Ravaira, Rakunai, Tavuiliu,
3. marginal dialects including Nodup, Tavui-Kap, Vuatom, Livuan, Kabair, Vurar, Vunamarita.

All Tolais are well aware of the different dialects; whenever I told a Tolai that I wanted to learn the *tinata tona* he explained to me that there was no *tinata tona* as such, but many different dialects. The dialectal boundaries are now becoming more and more blurred. In particular, the marginal dialects are heavily influenced by the "stronger" dialects, i.e. the dialect of Rabaul and the dialect of Kokopo. The influence of English and Tok Pisin can be observed not only in the lexicon but also in syntax.

The texts are written in common orthography, i.e. the orthography used by the United Church and the Catholic Mission in their religious publications. It does not distinguish between phonologically distinct short and long vowels (compare: *ta* "some" and *taː* "sea", *meme* "red" and *memeː* "with it").
are prenasalized except at the beginning of an utterance,

ng represents the velar nasal,

v the voiced bilabial fricative.

r is trilled.

s only appears in foreign words and varies according to the talent of the speaker. It alternates with t, e.g. pusí, putí "cat". The same holds true of f, which alternates with p, e.g. rapol "rifle".

A hyphen inserted between two words of the texts means that it was impossible to translate these two words in the interlinear translation by two separate words, e.g. tur-pa "to begin s.th.", which literally means "to stand up with regard to s.th." (tur means "to stand" and pa is the so-called effective particle; see below). A hyphen between two or more words in the interlinear translation indicates that all these words together are the translation of the corresponding word in the text, e.g.

**tadap**
go-to

means "to go in a certain direction"

**doka**
kill-him

means that the third person pronoun ia "him" is totally assimilated to the last vowel of the verb, i.e. doko "to kill" vs doka "to kill him/her/it"

**limana**
hand-his

means that the suffix pronoun meaning "his" is attached to the noun "hand", i.e. -na to lima "hand".

**da**
IND-TA

means that the word da represents a fusion of the indefinite pronoun and a tense-aspect-marker.
Brackets indicate that the speaker made a mistake and corrected himself afterwards. The so-called "euphonic i" between a word ending in t and a word beginning with t also appears in brackets.

Abbreviations:

There are some abbreviations introduced for words that cannot be translated into English:

D determinative particle: a and ra
exc exclusive pronoun
inc inclusive pronoun
IND indefinite pronoun: di
2 dual
3 trial or paucal { with pronouns
4 plural
PL plural particle: umana
TA tense-aspect-marker
E effective particle
O object connector: i
C connective particle: na and a
PR preposition: ta
PART emphatic particle

Discussion of the abbreviations:

D determinative particle: a and ra

a and ra are two phonologically conditioned variants of a noun-phrase-marker which is a kind of determinative standing in opposition to ta "some, any" and tika na "one", but it does not denote definiteness in opposition to indefiniteness as does the English article "the". If an alienable noun is determined by a proceeding possessive pronoun, the determinative particle is left out, but if the possessive pronoun or a nominal possessive construction follows the noun, the determinative particle has to proceed the noun, e.g.
kada mangamangana our custom (p.132,3)
our-4inc custom

a mangamangana the custom (p.132,2)
D custom

...ra mangamangana kada\(^1\) our custom (p.132,1)
D custom our-4inc

a mangamangana kai ra uma na Iapan a practise of the
D practise/custom of D PL Jap. Japanese (p.22,2f)

Inalienable nouns denoting body-parts take the determinative
particle, whether they are determined by the suffixed possessive
pronoun or not, e.g. a lima "the hand", a limana "his hand",
but inalienable nouns denoting relatives never take the
determinative particle, if they are determined by a suffixed
possessive pronoun, e.g. tamagu ma nagu "my father and my
mother" (p.28,3). Place-names take no determinative particle;
but the determinative particle plus a place-name denotes an
inhabitant of that place, e.g. a Amerika "an American".

Nouns which are connected with an other word by the connective
particle do not take the determinative particle, e.g.
a papait na pal "building a house" (p.139,2),
a is used at the beginning of an utterance and after words
ending in r and l, ra in all other places, e.g.
a tutana i ga vana; nam ra tutana i ga vana
the man went; that man went.

If the speaker hesitates and makes a pause after ra, he
continues his speech by repeating the determinative particle
in its variant a : nam ra - a tutana i ga vana .

\(^1\) Note that in this position the long form of the
possessive pronoun in the plural is used, i.e. the
form with t in the end, e.g. kavevet/ komavet "our" (exc)
kavavat "your", kadat "our" (inc) Kadiat "their".
IND indefinite pronoun: di

di is similar to the German "man" or French "on" and is used when the actor of an action is not to be expressed, e.g.

\[
\text{di ga doka} \quad \text{IND TA kill-him} \quad \text{somebody killed him, he was killed (man tötete ihn).}
\]

PL plural particle: umana

The plural of nouns is not obligatorily marked. It can be marked by the plural particle umana, which stands before the noun:

\[
\text{a umana bul the children} \quad \text{ta umana bul some children} \quad \text{kaigu umana bul my children}
\]

Only two nouns have special plural forms: the plural of tutana can be expressed by a tarai or by a umana tutana and the plural of a vavina "woman" by a varden or by a umana vavina.

Another means of expressing plurality is to reduplicate the noun, e.g. a gunan "a village", a gunagunan "villages", even a umana gunagunan is possible. Note that "big villages" is expressed by a ngalangala na gunan or a umana ngala na gunan

\[
\text{D big-big C village D PL big C village.}
\]

TA tense-aspect-marker

The most important tense-aspect-markers are:

ga, the remoteness-marker, indicating that the action described by the verb happened in the past before yesterday (see p. 149, p. 150), e.g.

\[
\text{iau ga vana na bung iau vana yesterday I went.}
\]

\[
\text{iau ga vana I went (sometime before yesterday)}
\]

\[
\text{ga is not obligatory, if it is understood from the context that the action happened in the past. In combination with}
\]

the future-tense-marker, *ga* denotes remoteness in the future;

**tar** resultative marker, e.g.

\[ \text{iau} \text{ tar} \text{ ian} \quad \text{I have already eaten;} \]

-**na/a**, future-tense-markers; -**na** occurs only after the singular pronouns and fuses with them to **ina**, **una** and **na**:

\[ \text{ina} \ / \text{una} \ / \text{na vana} \quad \text{I} / \text{you} / \text{he will go} ; \]

-**a** occurs after all other pronouns, but fuses only with the indefinite pronoun **di** (to **da**), e.g.

\[ \text{da vana} \quad \text{somebody will go} \]

but

\[ \text{dir a vana, dital a vana}, \text{the two of them, the three of them will go} \]

-**na/a** also denotes a frequently repeated and/or habitual action (see p. 129,7 f, 130,3 f, 143,2 f);

-**la**, denoting habitual action, e.g.

\[ \text{ave la long} \quad \text{we (exc,) used to steal (p.26,12} \]

(see p. 130,1 f, 171,1 f).

**E effective particle**

This particle comes after the verb and denotes the effectiveness of the action expressed by the verb or its relation to other actions, e.g.

-**kapi**, meaning that the action is followed by another action\(^1\),

-**pa**, denoting that the action definitely happened or was successful or happened with regard to something or somebody\(^2\), e.g. \(\text{kī pa } \) "to sit with regard to something"

\[ \text{= "to expect something"} \]

1) Bley, p.120, Zwinge p.53, Meyer p.143

2) Bley, p.119, Zwinge p.52, Meyer p.289
papa, signifying that the action is intended to be a purpose in itself\(^1\) (see p.7,3) or meaning the same as pa (see above).

**O object connector : i**

The object connector is used after some verbs to connect a pronominal object with the verb, e.g.

\[ i \text{ tup i avet} \quad \text{it exhausted us (exc. Pl.)} \]

**C connective particle : na / a**

This particle connects a) nouns with nouns, b) cardinal numbers other than "two" with nouns, c) adjectives with nouns, d) verbs with nouns, e) local adverbs with nouns\(^2\). a ia is a variant of na that occurs when the proceeding word ends in r or l.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{a)} & \quad \text{a uma na bin} & \text{a garden of beans (p.28,5)} \\
& \quad \text{D garden C bean} & \\
& \quad \text{a nga na varden} & \text{a row of women (p.30,12)} \\
& \quad \text{D row C women} & \\
& \quad \text{a papalum na rot} & \text{the building of the road (p.56,1)} \\
& \quad \text{D work C road} & \\
\text{b)} & \quad \text{ra ilima na kakaruk} & \text{five chickens (p.37,10)} \\
& \quad \text{D five C chicken} & \\
& \quad \text{a lavutul a balut} & \text{eight planes (p.43,3 f)} \\
& \quad \text{D eight D plane} & \\
\text{c)} & \quad \text{a ngala na tutana} & \text{a big man} \\
& \quad \text{D big C man} & \\
& \quad \text{a ngala na varvakadik} & \text{a bad injury (p.41,9)} \\
& \quad \text{D big C hurting} & \\
& \quad \text{a bo na vaninara} & \text{a good preparation (p.5,11)} \\
& \quad \text{D good C preparation} & \\
\end{align*} \]

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1) Zwinge p. 52
2) Though the words cannot strictly be classified into nouns, verbs, adjectives, and so on, according to English or Latin grammar, the traditional terms are used here in order to avoid a lengthy discussion of Tolai word-classes.
3) The only exception is ik "little": ik is always connected by a, e.g. a ik a nian "little food", a ik a tinata "a little story".
d) pa ave ga momo na ti
not we-4exc TA drink C tea
we did not drink tea (p.69,13)
dir ga gigit na bin
they-2 TA pick C bean
the two of them picked beans (p.28,10)
ave ga bo na kini
we-4exc TA good C staying
we had a good stay (p.69,9)
dia ga ngala na niligur
they-4 TA big C sorrow
they were very sad (p.63,12)
e) ara na pal
there C house
there in the house (p.20,9)
ura na gunan
down-there-to C village
down there to the village (p.22,9)

If a word ends in -na, e.g. a pakana "part", the connective particle is left out. This is indicated by (C) in the interlinear translation.

PR preposition: ta/ tai
The preposition ta/ tai has so many meanings that it seemed wiser to render it in the interlinear translation as PR rather than to translate it, so that it would then be clear that ta/ tai occurs in all these uses. ta/ tai means "in, at, on, with, from, because of, during". tai is a variant of ta that occurs, when the following word begins with t, e.g. ta "some" or tika "one".